

LABOR MUST BREAK THE GRIP OF DARKNESS.

By **IRWIN TUCKER**
Editor of "The Christian Socialist"

ON THIS Labor Day a concrete, direct and imperative duty confronts every working man and woman. It is to wrest from the strangling hands of Labor's foes, now seeking to suppress them—the full findings of the United States Industrial Commission, for publication and general distribution.

Capitalism is alarmed, and the Powers of Darkness tremble on their thrones, lest the blaze of light turned upon their evil kingdoms by this Commission should nerve the arm of Labor to action. Wherefore, if there is any way of covering these things up, of hiding them down deep under bottomless layers of obscurity, or swathing them in imperative blackness,—Capitalism will so bury them. For never since the great god Moloch began to crush under his huge bulk the millions of American toilers has so fearful a presentment of the truth revealed the full horrors of his reign.

Already have the Powers of Darkness stretched out their hands to seize and suppress this terrific indictment. Capitalist papers throughout the country ridicule and deride it. Long interviews with prominent bankers and speculators are published, making fun of the Commission and its findings. But all this merriment is on the surface. TRY AND WREST THE TRUTH FROM THE CLAWS OF THE BEAST, AND THEN WATCH IT SHOW ITS FANGS! There is no merriment in the hearts of the men who appear to laugh at the Walsh report. They are savage with furious indignation, and

CAPITALISM'S powers seeking to Hide Terrible Truths revealed by U. S. Industrial Commission—Labor Day's prime duty to secure widespread publicity—Commission members appeal to people to save their work from suppression.

will exert every endeavor to prevent the truth from being known.

ONE DUTY AT THIS HOUR.

AMERICAN LABOR has at this hour one pressing duty. It is to overpower the choking grip of strangling hands, and give these facts to the light.

NOW, ON THIS LABOR DAY, LET LABOR UNITELY DEMAND THAT THE TRUTH SHALL BE KNOWN. Let every labor organization, every Socialist organization, every working man and working woman, and every person in sympathy with them, join in a demand to Congress that the full report be printed for general distribution—TOGETHER WITH THE EVIDENCE ON WHICH IT IS BASED.

Do not fear that you are too insignificant to be noticed by your Congressman. Basil M. Manly, who in this issue appeals for your help, says, "Any personal letter influences any Congressman. He doesn't know whether you are a Socialist, and he doesn't usually care—he wants to please his constituents, and hold on to his job. If he gets a flood of personal letters from different places in his constituency, he figures on a big popular demand. Get your people to writing letters—personal letters. They do the trick."

When you write your Congressman, DEMAND THAT HE VOTE FOR THE FULL PUBLICATION OF THE WALSH COMMISSION REPORT AND OF THE EVIDENCE ON WHICH IT IS BASED, in sufficient quantity to give it to HIS CONSTITUENTS.

Never was there so pressing a duty so easily fulfilled. The members of the Commission appeal to you for your help to MAKE THE FACTS KNOWN. Lennon and O'Connell, the Labor members, make this direct appeal as part of their report:

"All evidence accumulated, whether by special investigators or at public hearings, will be submitted to Congress, and WE TRUST THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY WILL DEMAND THAT IT BE PUBLISHED IN FULL, particularly

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Research of the United States Industrial Commission. Manly engineered the investigation, finding the witnesses who were to testify to the Commission, and preparing the fields to be covered. It is he who wrote the report.

"The gist of the whole matter is this," said Mr. Manly; "Labor must organize, and must collectively use our democratic institutions (by which is meant of course the universal ballot) for the introduction of industrial democracy. This is contained in the first paragraph of the summary of our findings."

Look at these words again! Rub your eyes and consider what you see! Here is an official report of a Governmental body of the highest rank declaring that only through the program of Socialism can the horrible evils which it has revealed be ended. For labor, organized and conscious of its strength, using the ballot to bring about industrial democracy—this is the full program of Socialism, and nothing else. And this high Commission, after two years of investigation, could see no other way out!

EXPLAINS THE DIVISION.

"How about the division in the commission?" Mr. Manly was asked. "That was quite funny," he said. "Mr. Aish-ton, Mr. Ballard and Mr. Weinstein announced that they would not sign the main report because it was partisan and unfair. Chairman Walsh asked them to take up the report section by section, and to point out just what they considered partisan and unfair, so that it could be discussed. But they declined the challenge. They wouldn't discuss it—they would not specify."

"They refused to particularize or to discuss. They would give no facts to substantiate their allegations of unfairness. 'If I signed that thing, I could not go back to Louisville,' Mr. Ballard remarked. And that was the only reason he would give for bringing in a minority report. But notice that in this minority report the three representatives of employers admit every thing that is charged

against employers in the main report. First they call the main report partisan; then admit that they themselves are partisan; then admit the charges made, and then say that if they were wage workers they, too, would be unionists, and unionists of the strongest kind.

"In preparing this investigation, we were not looking for new or startling facts; we only sought to lay bare the vital elements of the situation. Now it is up to the general public to back us up. It is of the greatest importance that the evidence should be published for general distribution, so that the people may know the facts and the testimony on which our report was based. Write your congressman a personal letter demanding the publication of the full report. A personal letter always impresses a congressman. Urge all your readers to do this."

Manly and the Commission have done their work well. Now Socialists and labor men must back it up.

RIPS LID OFF CAPITALIST HELL.

BASIL MAXWELL Manly, director of research and investigation for the United States Industrial Commission, is an old hand at the game of ripping the lid off of Capitalism's hell. He has conducted investigations for the United States Bureau of Labor since 1907, when he first joined the Bureau—which has since become a Department. His principal investigations have been the following:

"Woman and Child Labor in the Glass Industry—1908."
"Employment of Women in the Electric Lamp Industry—1909."
"Labor conditions in the Iron and Steel Industry—1910."
"This was the first study of every phase of an industry in the United States—capitalization, unemployment, wages, hours, displacement of men by machinery, etc. It was also the first government document which endorsed the 8-hour day."
"Increase of prices of anthracite coal—1912."
"This investigation revealed the monopoly in the anthracite field, and showed how under cover of a slight increase in wages the mine owners increased prices to the consumers, reaping a clear profit of \$13,500,000."
"United States Industrial Commission inquiry—1914-15."

WALSH WANTS PEOPLE TO FINISH THE JOB.

On August 22, 1915, authority dropped from Frank P. Walsh, and he became a plain unassuming Kansas City citizen. For two years prior to that time he had been chairman of what plutocrats had come to fear as the devil—his traditionally reported to fear holy water—the United States Industrial Commission. With the stroke of midnight on that Sunday, however, he ended his work and the commission returned to Woodrow Wilson, who gave it.

"It is up to you fellows now to carry on the work we have done," said Walsh, shortly before his term ended. "We have done our best. Now you must take up the task of giving publicity to all the evidence and information we have amassed."

"How did you come to be appointed?" I asked him. "What office had you held?"

"I never held a public office in my life," Mr. Walsh replied.

"Then why did the President happen to pick you out for this job?"

"I'll tell you. During the heat of the last Presidential Campaign, when Mr. Wilson was in my vicinity, I called on him and said, Roosevelt and the Progressives are making a great deal of their social service planks. It is good stuff. The only way to beat him out is to do that a little better than he does it—to make the appeal a little higher and stronger, for social justice."

"Mr. Wilson said, Good idea. Do that. He made me chairman of the social justice sub-committee of his campaign committee, and during the last sixty days of his campaign we did a whirlwind business. That is how he happened to know of me."

Frank P. Walsh has been a criminal lawyer practically all of his public life. In the courts of Kansas City he has learned all the dodges and tricks of the criminal at bay. He has learned how to camp on the trail of the evildoer, remorseless and vigilant, until he had uncovered the facts about the crime. This stood him in good stead when he was pursuing the trail of the arch-criminal, the mother of criminals, the Capitalist system. The squirming and parrying of young Rockefeller and old Rockefeller on the stand presented no novelty to him; he recognized the tricks of the criminal's trade—and he tracked them down just as relentlessly until he had uncovered the secret he sought.

Are the Workers of America Opposed to an Eight-Hour Law?

A FOREWORD

THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party wishes to draw the serious attention of the workers of America to an action of the recent National Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The A. F. of L. has declared that it will hereafter oppose any proposition to establish by law an eight-hour day for male adult workers.

This action of the A. F. of L. is bound to create an immense discussion in labor circles and it is important that every trade unionist should be familiar with the facts.

The Socialist Party at the last elections sent to various State legislatures twenty-six assemblymen and four State senators, while to the National Congress it elected Meyer London of New York. All these men are pledged by the Socialist program to propose and energetically support an eight-hour law for all workers.

It is probable that for several years to come their efforts will be defeated. Most of the Democrats, Republicans and Progressives will vigorously oppose in the future, as they have in the past, all attempts to pass eight-hour legislation. However, in the past such opposition has been considered unfriendly to Labor; but now, after the action of the A. F. of L. Convention, we should find Democrats, Republicans, Progressives, Manufacturers, Sweaters, Mine Owners and Mill Owners opposing an eight-hour law and claiming that THEY ARE CARRYING OUT THE WISHES OF THE A. F. OF L.

Against all these forces the Socialists will stand alone. They will be told by some of the officials of the A. F. of L., as well as by reactionary politicians and manufacturers, THAT LABOR DOES NOT WANT AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW. An amazing situation will then exist: THE SOCIALIST FIGHTING FOR AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW WILL BE DENOUNCED AS AN ENEMY OF LABOR. The mass of workingmen, whether unionist or non-unionist, will then be divided in their efforts to obtain an eight-hour law by the united opposition of the manufacturers and the A. F. of L.

This, it seems to us, will mean the betrayal of labor by the A. F. of L. and, in our opinion, it will bring down upon its head a storm of indignation. Surely trade unionists will not forget that all classes of labor have aided them to improve their condition. Millions of non-unionists have looked with sympathy upon the strikes for better conditions conducted by the trade unionists. Millions of unorganized workingmen have refused to scab because they have seen in the struggles of the trade unionists a little hope for themselves. Moreover, the Socialists have invariably aided the workers in every strike to win the shorter day. If now, when the effort of the mass of workingmen to obtain an eight-hour law is growing everywhere, the A. F. of L. deserts them, it is safe to predict that the A. F. of L. will ultimately suffer the most. Any labor body will have much to explain, which for any reason finds itself lined up with the manufacturers in opposition to the mass of labor.

It may be that certain officials of the A. F. of L. think that by opposing eight-hour laws they will injure Socialism. Of course, if they have any such idea it may be well for them to think the matter over. If the Socialist Party is the only labor group in America advocating a universal eight-hour law, it will soon be discovered that it is the only party in America worthy of the support of all the workers. That will bring us millions of recruits. It will not injure the Socialist Party to have the A. F. of L. oppose an eight-hour law. On the contrary it is more likely to divide, disrupt, and perhaps even destroy the A. F. of L.

In the opinion of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, the A. F. of L. has made a serious mistake. Unless it revises its action it is likely to suffer, and we venture to assert that if the mass of trade unionists have any say in the matter, the action of the A. F. of L. will be repealed at its next convention. The group in control of the A. F. of L. however, will only change its action when it is forced to do so by the rank and file. In order to awaken the trade unionists to what is being done in their name we are now publishing the following statement of facts.

VICTOR L. BERGER, LEWIS J. DUNCAN, ADOLPH GERMER, JAMES H. MAURER, J. STITT WILSON—National Executive Committee, Socialist Party.

THE labor movement has, since its birth, advocated vigorously and incessantly a reduction in the hours of labor. For many decades now it has proposed that no man, woman or child shall be forced to labor more than eight hours out of twenty-four. This has long been an aim of the trade-union and Socialist movements. Indeed, the entire labor movement in this and all other lands has always put the eight-hour day as the first and most important of all its demands. As the French workers put it: Eight hours for work, eight hours for play, and eight hours for sleep.

Many powerful organizations of skilled workers have already obtained the eight-hour day for themselves. Many countries have passed eight-hour laws for the workers of certain dangerous trades, and in several of our own states eight hours has been accepted by law as the legal day for those employed by the munici-

cipalities and by the state. In the early days of the American Federation of Labor an immense eight-hour agitation was conducted and as a result of the enthusiasm produced by this agitation, the foundations were laid for some of the strongest trade unions in America. The United Mine Workers of America have built up one of the strongest unions in the world by urging the men to struggle for an eight-hour day, both through agreements with their employers and through legislation.

Men of labor have differed concerning the solution of many social problems. They have been divided into many schools of thought and there has always been in the ranks of labor more or less dissension between the partisans of these various schools. But there has never been any division among laboring men as to the eight-hour day. All have recognized its utility and all have agreed that it would be of immense value to those who toil. Could anything be more astonishing then, than to have the American Federation of Labor, at this late day, declare officially that it will oppose a state or national eight-hour law? Yet that astounding policy was announced by the convention of the A. F. of L. held in Philadelphia in November, 1914.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

THE MATTER was brought before the convention of the A. F. of L. by a resolution introduced by Paul Scharrenberg, of the California State Federation of Labor. This resolution reads as follows:

Whereas, the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor urged upon all State branches to work for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight per day, and (where such laws already exist) to begin an agitation for the enactment of a general eight-hour law; and

Whereas, during the year President Gompers publicly declared that the American Federation of Labor does not favor a legal limitation of the work-day for the adult male workers; and

Whereas, said statement of President Gompers was very effectively used by the opponents of the shorter workday in defeating the eight-hour initiative which was before the people of California, Oregon and Washington at the recent general election; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we reaffirm the declaration of the Seattle Convention upon the shorter workday as enunciated

in the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday. It appears from the above resolution, which was defeated, that certain officials of the A. F. of L. not only oppose the eight-hour law in theory, but that they are actually using the power and influence, which the labor movement gives

fluent and expensive, if not impossible; and Whereas, a considerable number of States today enjoy the right to initiate and pass legislation by vote of the people; and Whereas, California, Oregon and Washington, at their recent election, endeavored to pass

od of shortening the workday of Labor in said States shall, deem it desirable and expedient to use. Now it will be observed that the various labor bodies of three great States in the West were last year putting forward tremendous effort

helped them to defeat the working men of the West.

The opposition of the employers was to be expected, but who could have dreamed that any leaders of labor in this wide world would come to their aid at such a time? Yet here is what happened. A great poster was gotten out by the Manufacturers' Association, and the Metal Trades which told the workers of the West that President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, was opposed to an eight-hour law. Undoubtedly the fact that Mr. Gompers' words could be thus used by the employers enabled them to rob all the workers of these Western States of an eight-hour day.

SEEKING AN EXPLANATION.

NO DOUBT the Manufacturers' Association misrepresented some of Mr. Gompers' views, but in order that there shall be no question that he is opposed to the eight-hour law, let us quote a few words from his testimony before the Commission on Industrial Relations, which full report was obtained and should be read. They have been published in a booklet entitled "The Double Edge of Labor's Sword."

"Mr. Hillquit: Now, if the same proposition should come by means of a law forcing an eight-hour workday upon all employers in given state or, for that matter, throughout the Union, then the Federation, as I understand, would not approve it."

"Mr. Gompers: It would oppose it."

"Mr. Gompers: If I understand and correctly interpret the views of the American Federation of Labor, it would oppose it."

"Mr. Hillquit: Now, let's understand that well, Mr. Gompers, for the record. Your opinion is that if there were a movement and a possible establishment of a shorter workday—say an eight-hour workday—by legal enactment throughout the land, and a minimum wage in the same way, the Federation would be opposed to such measures?"

"Mr. Gompers: It would - - -"

We now see that Mr. Gompers is actually and frankly opposed to an eight-hour law. We have also seen that he and others assisted in defeating such laws in California, Oregon and Washington, despite the fact that hundreds of thousands of workers in those States wanted those laws.

Mr. Gompers' remarks at the convention of the A. F. of L. in 1914 are printed below, but after reading them carefully we can find only one sentence that even attempts to explain his position.

"If we can get," he says, "an eight-hour law for the working people, then you will find that the working people themselves will fail to have any interest in your economic organization."

It would seem, then, that his opposition to an eight-hour law arises from the fear that conditions might be so much improved by such a law, that the trade unions would suffer. Men might in his opinion, refuse to pay dues to an organization that could not hope to obtain for them

Business is wholesale robbery. It has temporarily been set aside to make room for war, which is wholesale murder.

Government ownership is mastery so long as the capitalist controls the government.

ONE MILLION COPIES

Labor Day, this year, would mark an epoch in the progress of the American Labor Movement if one million copies of this issue of The American Socialist could be circulated among the working men and women of this nation.

So that while you distribute the paper at the labor day celebration, or from house to house, you can keep the booklets busy among your shopmates for months to come.

Many have already taken advantage of this offer. They have already received their booklets and their bundles of this issue of The American Socialist. But there is yet time for you if you will but hurry. We are holding the plates of this edition for extra orders. This issue will not only be good for distribution on Labor Day but all of next week.

Feeling that there are a large number of energetic workers who will want to distribute at least 200 copies of this issue of The American Socialist, here is a second offer. To all those sending in \$1 for 200 copies, we will also send 10 copies of the booklet, "ARE THE WORKERS OPPOSED TO AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW?" and in addition one copy of Robert Hunter's book, "Labor in Politics," which usually sells for 25 cents. Those ordering a bundle of 200 copies for \$1 will therefore receive 75 cents worth of literature in addition. You can't afford to pass this offer by. Make this your work for Labor Day, 1915.

Help make it a one million edition.

The offer made to those sending in \$1 for 200 copies will also hold good for those ordering larger bundles. 25 followed \$2.50 for 500 copies; \$5 for 1,000 copies; \$25 for 5,000 copies.

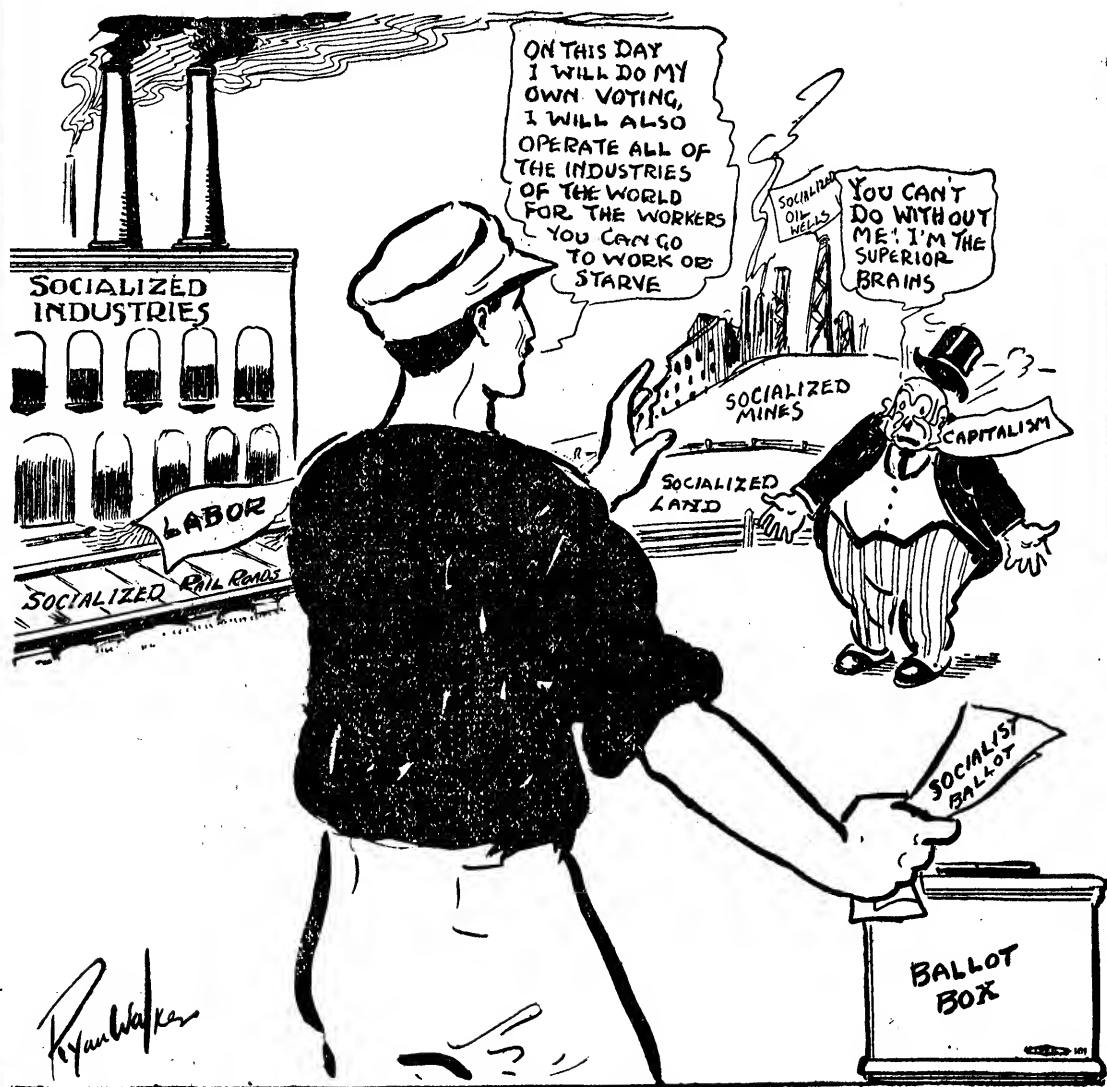
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them, to defeat one of the most humane laws ever sought in the interests of labor. Another resolution along similar lines was introduced by Delegates J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists; J. G. Brown, of the International Union of Timber Workers; and H. L. Hughes, of the Washington State Federation of Labor. This resolution is also of importance and should be printed here because it, too, was defeated. It is as follows:

Whereas, the best interests of the workers demand a radical reduction in the hours of labor at the earliest possible date; and

Whereas, the increased activities and power of organized employers of this country are making organization work in many industries exceedingly dif-

eight-hour-day laws, but were considerably handicapped in their efforts by reason of the fact that the American Federation of Labor was misrepresented by the press of these three States as being opposed to such legislation; and

Whereas, the various labor bodies in these three States endorsed and put forth a tremendous effort to pass their several measures; and

Whereas, the American Federation of Labor went on record in favor of such legislation at the convention of 1913, held in Seattle, Washington; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does reaffirm its action favoring the direct-legislation method of shortening the workday of Labor in said States shall, deem it desirable and expedient to use. Now it will be observed that the various labor bodies of three great States in the West were last year putting forward tremendous effort

AN OPEN LETTER TO GUILTY UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS

By **GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK**
Author of "War—What For?"

DEAR SIRS:—Your catalogs are before me. In these catalogs you set forth the advantages to be gained by young people who attend your institutions. Among these advantages are especially liberal ones which you hold out enticingly and particularly to those young people who, you say, are conspicuously above the average in intellectual gifts, to those graduates of high schools and those college students who have indeed already shown that nature with unusual generosity has equipped them for the struggle for existence. These specially liberal advantages are in the form of free gifts which you call "fellowships" and "scholarships" and which yield the recipients from \$100 to \$1,000 a year, for one or more years. This sum of money is to be used by those who receive it in defraying their expenses for a year and thus protect themselves against economic want and worry while they, GRADUATES ALREADY, add still more training—more knowledge, more equipment—more armor—for the fierce life-struggles of the struggle for existence under the present wage-and-profit industrial system called Capitalism.

You thus propose to help those most who need help least—those who have already had much training and who have also been discovered to be above the average of those immediately around them in the race of life.

Admit, gentlemen, the large and illuminating sociological fact; namely, with rhetorical drum and trumpet and other almost coercively seductive catalog and circular advertising you proudly announce that this economic support is for those, and for those only, who, having had opportunity to do so in high schools and colleges, have already proved their superiority in mental endowments. Admit that this economic protection is for those who from nature and training already have great advantages—for those while they still further sharpen their intellectual weapons for the race of life. In high schools and colleges and colleges, with many forms of inspiring environment, those superior young people have already had opportunity to discover and develop their tastes and powers and special gifts; those have already had opportunity to have their ambitions roused, their hopes enlarged, and their life plans grandly expanded—those have already had opportunity to acquire additional equipment for the race of life.

SHOULD PROTECT ALL YOUTHS.

Those alone you propose to assist with hundreds of dollars a year who do not object to your doing so, and for two reasons I do not object—because all youths should be protected while they study; and also because what you propose to do gives the lie to your own sneer at the poor and ignorant: "Anybody can get an education and succeed, if he wishes to do so." And that brings me to the main question, gentlemen: What about the TENS OF MIL-

HELP EDUCATE THE EDUCATORS.

NOTE:—This month the fall and winter terms of our public schools begin. From the kindergarten through the state university the struggle will again be on to win the schools for the people. Kirkpatrick's article is therefore more than appropriate at this time. It is a notable contribution to the mass of evidence presented by The American Socialist showing how the Big Business interests seek to strangle democracy in the schools.

We want to put this, "Open Letter to Guilty University Presidents" into the hands of as many educators as possible. We want them to know what we think of them. The American Socialist has a long list of names of educators. But it will cost something to send them all a copy of this issue of The American Socialist. Will you help? Send in as big a contribution as you can afford for this purpose and The American Socialist will do the rest.

LIONS OF YOUTHS who do not get a SINGLE HOUR of training in even the first year of the high school or academy—what about those who are thus BEATEN BEFORE THE RACE BEGINS?

It is about this economically damned and socially doomed majority that I wish to write a very special word to you.

More than seventy-five in every hundred of all the boys and girls in the United States never enter even the first year of the high school or schools of the high school grade. Now, place that fact, that big, bald fact, beside the following important statement by the most profound and productive student of human society that the world has yet known, the late Dr. Lester F. Ward:

"But, really, for all except the rarest cases, something more than a 'common-school education' is required to insure success. A much broader view of the principal branches of learning is necessary to enable a person of talent or even a genius to select a career and pursue it successfully. The great men of all time have had this. All outside of that group, whatever may be their native talents, are excommunicated from candidacy to achievement." (Ward: Applied Sociology, pp. 223-30).

And this from President Butler, of Columbia University:

"Statistics show that out of 10,000 successful men in the world in all classes, 8,000 were college graduates. . . . Even your self-made man isn't satisfied unless his son can go to college." (Chicago Tribune, March 12, 1905.)

(Probably far more than 8,000 of the 10,000 were high school or academy graduates.)

Now, what of the astonishing majority, the more than seventy-five per cent, who do not have opportunity to discover and develop their tastes, their powers and their special gifts? These must make the struggle for existence practically without education, without maturing of their powers, without enrichment of their minds with knowledge, without the inspirations, without the ideals, without the grandly expanded life plans to be secured chiefly in the finely cultural stimulating environment of the high schools and academies and colleges, and universities. These, my learned gentlemen, must face the bitter competition, the struggling, suffering competitors of life unprepared, unarmed. And that brings me to my next word to you.

FAVOR THE STRONG.

YOU BELIEVE, you say you believe—in competition and your university trustees, many of them presidents or directors of powerful industrial trusts, force you to say you believe, in industrial competition. You glorify the wage-and-profit competition of capitalism; you

scorn the Socialists who urge co-operation—who urge that in a co-operative commonwealth the economic hand-cuffs shall be stricken from the wrists of all the children of all the people for all time.

But in the distribution of cash-paying fellowships you endeavor to give them to the strong. And thus, precisely thus, you admit—your action proves that you believe—that the competition of the present order of society is so fierce, so hot, so crushing and disastrous, that even these specially gifted ones, the unusually powerful ones who have already had much training—you admit that even these in the coarse, crude, brutal competition of the present social order would probably fall short of their glory, fall short of lives of greatest possible usefulness, fall short of conspicuous success, without your ECONOMIC SUPPORT, without your gladly and proudly offered cash assistance while they further prepare for success, honor and social service.

So even these powerful and already trained young people—even these — NEED HELP do they? Indeed!

Well, what of a social system so fiercely competitive and so wolfishly unjust that even these discovered, specially strong young people, already considerably trained, are thus endangered? What of a social order so cruelly unfraternal, so swindlingly competitive that it would balk even these discovered choicest ones short of full maturity of their powers and usefulness if they were left without economic protection while they study still further? If these do not need this economic defense while they study, why do you give it to them? Surely you would not belittle education by offering bright and economically comfortable young men and women an expensive toy—say five hundred dollars in "pin money"—to induce them to study hard? As men of intellectual distinction and great moral influence have you so little in your repertoire of inspirations for aspiring human souls that you must offer these young people patsy, filthy cash as an incentive and goal? No, no—you say you are not a socialist, you are economically assist and protect strong but poor young people, already much developed, because you know that they, even they, actually need the money to complete their necessary systematic development by means of prolonged academic training.

Clearly your action in the distribution of these fellowships is implied admission that the Socialists are correct in contending that the present competitive wage-and-profit system involves so much poverty, such heavy poverty as to arrest and wreck the intellectual development of the majority, that the present system is so cruelly fierce and so disastrously harsh that you gladly and proudly rush the admitted members of society who have already had years of training and encouragement for the struggle for existence.

DICE OF LIFE ARE LOADED.

GENTLEMEN, under the present competitive system the dice of life are loaded against both the bright and the dull children of the poor, and your own actions prove that you yourselves believe this to be the situation. You yourselves are constantly whining at the millionaire's back door for money to establish cash fellowships with which, as with life-preservers, you rescue at least a few from the bitter storms of competitive life. But I must remember that you are cultivated gentlemen whom I must address in the gentle language of polite society. Well, then, let me use the sweetly metered smoothness, the rhetorical honey, the flute-like softness of graceful phrase appropriate in addressing you academically, sensibly, shrinkingly vulnerable natures—let me with delicately diplomatic indirectness tell you this, just this, gentlemen: You seem ridiculously

culpously inconsistent, vulgarly illogical, mockingly insincere—and contemptible. With your learning, your eloquence, and your unusual moral influence you defend the competitive system that forces you to cringe and fawn before coarse-grained, hard-and-tallow, morally barbaric millionaires, forces you to tease these industrial caesars for some of their blood-stained money for fellowships with which you may rescue at least a few dozen of their mentally gifted but economically plundered and pauperized victims.

Have you no shame? Really, have you forgotten how to blush? Has the competitive system of society so poisoned the well-springs of manly pride that you are become incapable of Christlike indignation, incapable of hot resentment for the merciless tyranny of masters who force you to crawl and whine and also force you to teach a falsehood and commit a social treason? Has your intellectual serfdom morally emancipated you?

Get up! Stand once erect! Show us the soulless of men, defiantly proud men, men too finely proud to defend a system that perhaps robbed their own fathers and mothers of the greatest thing in the world, a liberal education. Show us men too noble to mock their own families—perhaps their own uneducated mothers whose gnarled hands in days gone by were blistered and calloused with toil in furnishing the economic support while they studied in college. Come! Speak out, gentlemen. What message of cheer have you for the vast majority, some of whom no doubt are weak, many millions of whom are surely splendid, capable average, and great numbers of whom are doubtless magnificently gifted, but many millions of whom are in THE CURSED OBSESSION OF ECONOMIC POVERTY—what message have you for this mighty host whom the coarse and brutal rudeness of the competitive system robs of the privilege of even the first year's training in the high school? What message of cheer have you for the lean and bony little girls toiling in the cotton mills of New England and the South, competing, each pale, hungry, ragged child, with a multi-million dollar corporation? What message have you for the tender little boys in the breakers of the Anthracite Coal Trust? What cheering message have you for the multitude of little dust-breathing consumptives who slave in the great department stores, each child, each alone, competing against a gigantic corporation? These, all these are helplessly young, helplessly small, helplessly ignorant, helplessly inexperienced, and helplessly poor.

These—and millions of others in factories and shops, and in petty rented or mortgaged farms—have NO SUFFICIENT OPPORTUNITY TO PROVE their intellectual gifts—they have no economic support while they study. What message have you for the host of helpless girls and boys whose intellectual eyes are burned out by the blistering heat of the competitive system? Stunned and balked by the brutalities of the competitive wage-and-profit system, these are helpless, AND YOU KNOW THEY ARE HELPLESS. These have no opportunity—they lack economic defense while they en-

they have opportunity to read and think more, they will also strive harder for a better and higher life for all those who toil.

MR. DUNCAN'S OBJECTION TO AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

HAVING DEALT with one of Mr. Gompers' objections to an eight-hour law, let us now turn to one objection presented by Mr. James Duncan, next to Mr. Gompers the highest official in the A. F. of L. Mr. Duncan's view is no less damaging than that of Mr. Gompers. It is the essence of craft selfishness. To anyone interested in the world of labor, let us hear his words appear to be as coldblooded and mercenary as any man to be. He is an official of the Granite Cutters' Union, which according to the reports of the A. F. of L. has a membership in the United States not exceeding fifteen thousand men. Mr. Duncan is opposed to an eight-hour law, which would benefit at least twenty million workers, because he is afraid that if these twenty million workers obtain an eight-hour law the granite cutters might have difficulty in reducing further their own hours. That is the unvarnished fact. And if you don't believe it, here are his words: "We hope," he says, "through our trade union activities to get down to the six-hour day by and by. If you have an eight-hour law you will see the handicap we will have in arguing with our employers for seven and seven and one-half hours a day." So much for the shameless craft spirit of one man and his little organization who actually opposes an eight-hour law for the millions because it might interfere with his petty little craft obtaining at sometime a seven or a six-hour day. These are the arguments of men who are the sworn enemies of the eight-hour law of Mr. Gompers and Mr. Duncan, the two highest officials in a labor movement that was built up to fight for the millions who toil. The A. F. of L. is alright, but what of its present leaders? Do they represent the views of the masses in the shops? Surely it is obvious to the millions of America that their officials should be held strictly responsible for their actions. In reality there is no difference between your selected representatives in the Congress of the United States. Both sets of officials should be watched, their actions recorded, and they should be defeated or returned according as they have served the interests of those whom they represent.

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The biggest value on earth. The coat is made of ten cloth with a natural plaid lining, cut in the latest style. Full length. Agents are making big money everywhere with it. Don't delay, order today and get it at once. We'll pay post anywhere on agents sample coat.

W. S. Howard, Waldoboro, Maine

rich their minds, polish their pearls and prove their gifts. You well know that a mentally gifted child though keenly willing to study, may nevertheless grow up to be a stupidly ignorant man or woman. These ignorant children in the mills and mines, competing against profit-seeking employers, are struggling, gasping for the economic breath of mere animal existence, while you admit that even the brilliant and powerful young men and women who already have high school and perhaps several years of college education need economic protection while they prepare further for lives of usefulness and honor and the many deep pleasures of mental maturity. Speak distinctly, please.—What is your message for the ignorant youths whose joyless lives are stuffed and damned with poverty and toil, whose hopes are stillborn, whose souls shrivel in the fires of competition while you mock them!

NO MESSAGE OF CHEER.

FOR THIS sweat-stained host, barred by poverty from the halls of learning, you have no sincere message of cheer. And later when these economically helpless children of wage-paid slaves are grown to men and women—what then? Will you then, your eyes burning with scorn, your lips curling with contempt, will you then with your rented tongues, your learned culture, your rented rhetoric and your learned eloquence further damn these lost ones with stinging, viperous insult. "Ignorant nobodies!" Shame! Shame upon you! How long will you defend the system that makes toadies of you and dulls the bright eyes of the children of the poor?

Will you reply that "in this country opportunities are abundant for anyone to get an education who has brains enough to make it worth while to be educated?" How is it then that the children of the uneducated poor prevented by poverty from proceeding further with their education, make just as good records in the lower grade schools as the children whom you seek to help after they have fortunately gone through the high school and part way, or perhaps all the way, through the college?

IF SUFFICIENT OPPORTUNITIES ARE ABUNDANT FOR ALL WHY DO YOU FURNISH SPECIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ANY?

Opportunities? Consider what I have just quoted above from Professor Lester F. Ward's Applied Sociology, which work is indeed largely an exhaustive investigation of the sociological and educational significance of opportunity and of the lack of opportunity.

"Opportunities are plentiful—and anybody can succeed in this country who wishes to do so,"—did you say? What you say thus of opportunity is false, you know it is false, and you prove that you believe it is false when you rush to the rescue of a few discovered specially strong young people with fellowships and thus economically defend even these trained, discovered, favored ones against the saber-like teeth of the wolves of poverty.

With pity and contempt I say to you that the hideousness of poverty is surpassed only by the tragedy and shame of strutting, suave and smiling intellectual prostitution. As for pro-

stitutes I have more respect, a great deal more respect, for my infinitely humbled sisters, painted slaves of plumps and policemen, lashed into the streets by poverty to rent the mocking smiles that hide their anguish, to rent the very temples of their souls to unwashed babbling brutes—lust for money enough to live on day by day—I have more respect for these, for any one of these, in the desolation and degradation of her sex prostitution than I have for the most "cultivated" intellectual prostitute that ever rented his brain, milked a plutocrat for gifts with enslaving "understandings," strangled a fearless professor, and helped damn the millionaire's victims in poverty and ignorance with the cruel slander that "the poor and ignorant are poor and ignorant because they haven't brains enough to be otherwise."

YOU HAVE NO MESSAGE.

I have asked you for your message of cheer for the poor.

You have no message for the poor. You? You! You fawning tope-and-serfs, fattened on "conditioned" endowments, protected with salaries tainted with the blood of children gasping in the ignorance of poverty and the poverty of ignorance, your priceless tools and toads of capitalist caesars, hired to pollute public opinion with your poisoned piffle and your learned sneers at the uneducated poor—you have no message: crawling, prostrate moral enuchs, that you are in the academic he-arms of the plutocratic masters of the world, you—you have no message for the bright-eyed, keen-brained children of the poor wallowing UNINSPIRED AND UNPROTECTED in the ignorance of poverty.

Universities, slavery or openly agreeing to strangle "understandings" for "conditioned" gifts from plutocratic flinchers of the fruits of toil—no such university ever helped free an economic slave class. No such university ever even tried to do so. And whenever in such an institution some brave teachers have raised their voices in criticism of despotism and in defense of the hosts that sicken in ignorance and poverty—such teachers have been silenced or promptly driven from the university, or college.

With no thanks to you, guilty presidents of universities, we of the working-class will hew our own way to freedom through the mountains of prejudice and slander you have helped build in the path of human progress. Servile assassins of academic freedom of discussion, boss strike-breakers of the professional nobility who strive for the right to teach without todaying we expect nothing from you except hollow mouthings and cruel slanders. We know you. And, fortunately, we also know this: In the lower grade schools our children matched your children and the children of your masters too, IN BRAINS,—matched them there! All poverty kidnapped our boys and girls and drove them to the mills and mines and factories of the class who pay your salaries for your cunning silence or for your shameless slanders. And that fact makes us scorn your slander and inspires us to challenge you to the battle of brains for the rights of the brain.

Each year now we more thoroughly UNDERSTAND YOU — and YOUR KIND.

The American Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

J. L. ENGBAHL, Editor
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1915.

Our Slogan

ORGANIZE FOR 1916!

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Here is all the week's news worth while boiled down for workers so busy fighting for Socialism they haven't time to read the daily capitalist press.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 24.

German government says it is sorry for the American sinking of the Lusitania. May have been a mistake.

German deny Russian claim of great naval victory in the Baltic.

American vice consul returns from Russia and declares Petrograd is placarded with appeals to the people to revolt.

Denial that U. S. has man in view as Mexican chief.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25.

German Imperial Chancellor states that the "commander of the German submarine went beyond his instructions in not standing up for Belgium."

Boerens speaks to "business men soldiers" in camp at Painesville, N. Y., declaring U. S. should be ashamed for not standing up for Belgium.

New York World publishes letter showing Germany fears future of United States as great power.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 26.

Declared that Germany will yield all points in sea demands of the United States; will draw sinking of Lusitania and future safety of Americans.

Brest Litovsk, the main Russian fortress, and most important concentration point in present Russian line, falls before German forces.

North Carolina Senator advocates bond issues to pay for larger navy.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 27.

Pres. Wilson will try to persuade Great Britain to raise blockade of neutral European countries.

Russian forces of Olita, on the Niemen River, falls into the hands of the Germans.

Memo to Grodno, last remaining Russian fortress in Poland.

Great Britain again threatened by walk-out of Welsh coal miners. Thirty thousand men in revolt over recent award.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 28.

300,000 men, 100,000 of them armed, German army, in East Prussia, march toward

LENNON QUESTIONS HILLQUIT

(Continued from Page One.)

any further benefits. And the conclusion one must draw from his remark is that the end of the trade unions is not to benefit labor but to keep themselves going.

This is a very damaging admission, and one worth examining just a little. For many years Mr. Gompers and his friends have assailed the Socialists on the ground that they do not want any improvement in the conditions of the working class. They have repeatedly charged the Socialists with wishing to have the working class driven to despair.

In order that they may revolt. A thousand times Mr. Gompers has assailed the Socialist as being the enemies of the working class. He has claimed that they do not want the workers to get better wages or shorter hours. But what about Mr. Hillquit? What about Mr. Hillquit's opposition to the eight-hour law? Does not that mean that he wishes to keep the mass of workers toiling ten, eleven, and twelve hours a day in order that they shall be driven through desperation into the unions? Does he not appear to desire that the workers should be so oppressed that they will be driven into strikes, and by the strikes into the organized labor movement? And worse still, has he not had the hardihood, if not the brutality, to oppose an eight-hour law when the workers of California, Oregon and Washington seemed on the point of actually winning it?

In other words, is not Mr. Gompers' position exactly that which he denounces the Socialists for holding? Now let us see if the Socialists hold any such views.

When Mr. Hillquit was testifying before the Commission on Industrial Relations, Mr. John B. Lennon, a member of that Commission and one of the prominent officials of the A. F. of L., asked Mr. Hillquit these questions:

"Commissioner Lennon: Mr. Hillquit, I want you to answer a question a little more elaborately than you have, or than I have understood you. I understood you to say that the coming of Socialism must be through growth, through evolution, through the development of the human race to higher and better conditions, and that the workers must strive to attain better conditions, so far as their industrial life is concerned, and social life, and their mental activity."

"Mr. Hillquit: Yes."

"Commissioner Lennon: Then you do not believe in the theory that you must grind a man's nose to the extreme before he will rebel, and

help to bring about better conditions?"

"Mr. Hillquit: By no manner of means; just the contrary."

"Commissioner Lennon: Has that not been the theory expressed by a very large number of Socialists up to recent times?"

"Mr. Hillquit: It has not. The distinguishing feature between the Socialists, or as we may term it more accurately, the Social Democrats, and the anarchists, is that the Socialists adopt as their motto, 'The worse, the better.' Whereas, the Socialists' motto is, 'The better, the better.'"

A few facts will determine whether or not Mr. Hillquit was justified in making this assertion. In this and all other countries of the world the Socialists have striven with all their energy to obtain an eight-hour law for the benefit of all those who toil. In several foreign countries they have been successful in obtaining by law a reduction in the hours of those working in dangerous trades, as well as the hours of women and children. In the three Western States, which have been carrying on an agitation for an eight-hour law, the Socialists have been enthusiastic supporters of such a measure. The Socialists of Los Angeles, California, were among those first to initiate the proposition for eight hours that received the general referendum 341,000 votes. Needless to say, they have supported such a law regardless of whether or not it would tend to make the workers contented. Unquestionably if an eight-hour day would make men satisfied with their lot it would be likely to hurt Socialism as much as life-preservers hurt the Anarchists. Why, then, did the Socialists fight for the eight-hour day? Because, first, they are in favor of any measure that will benefit labor, and, second, no Socialist believes that an eight-hour day would injure either trade unionism or Socialism. On the contrary, it is the conviction of every prominent Socialist that when you have freed men from the brutalizing toll of eleven and twelve hours a day and given them leisure to think, they will become more conscious than ever of their true interests. As

they have opportunity to read and think more, they will also strive harder for a better and higher life for all those who toil.

MR. DUNCAN'S OBJECTION TO AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

HAVING DEALT with one of Mr. Gompers' objections to an eight-hour law, let us now turn to one objection presented by Mr. James Duncan, next to Mr. Gompers the highest official in the A. F. of L. Mr. Duncan's view is no less damaging than that of Mr. Gompers. It is the essence of craft selfishness. To anyone interested in the world of labor, let us hear his words appear to be as coldblooded and mercenary as any man to be. He is an official of the Granite Cutters' Union, which according to the reports of the A. F. of L. has a membership in the United States not exceeding fifteen thousand men. Mr. Duncan is opposed to an eight-hour law, which would benefit at least twenty million workers, because he is afraid that if these twenty million workers obtain an eight-hour law the granite cutters might have difficulty in reducing further their own hours. That is the unvarnished fact. And if you don't believe it, here are his words: "We hope," he says, "through our trade union activities to get down to the six-hour day by and by. If you have an eight-hour law you will see the handicap we will have in arguing with our employers for seven and seven and one-half hours a day." So much for the shameless craft spirit of one man and his little organization who actually opposes an eight-hour law for the millions because it might interfere with his petty little craft obtaining at sometime a seven or a six-hour day. These are the arguments of men who are the sworn enemies of the eight-hour law of Mr. Gompers and Mr. Duncan, the two highest officials in a labor movement that was built up to fight for the millions who toil. The A. F. of L. is alright, but what of its present leaders? Do they represent the views of the masses in the shops? Surely it is obvious to the millions of America that their officials should be held strictly responsible for their actions. In reality there is no difference between your selected representatives in the Congress of the United States. Both sets of officials should be watched, their actions recorded, and they should be defeated or returned according as they have served the interests of those whom they represent.

The A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party are both organizations that claim to represent labor, and both should be watched most carefully by the masses to see that neither the one or the other takes any action that tends to injure labor. Moreover, any Socialist or trade-union official who misrepresents labor should be retired by the organized forces of Socialism and labor.

As a rule the mass of Socialists watch carefully the actions of their officials. They have the referendum and the recall which enables them to veto the actions of their officials or to retire them whenever they misrepresent the move-

ment.

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The biggest value on earth. The coat is made of ten cloth with a natural plaid lining, cut in the latest style. Full length. Agents are making big money everywhere with it. Don't delay, order today and get it at once. We'll pay post anywhere on agents sample coat.

W. S. Howard, Waldoboro, Maine

(Continued on Page 5, Col. 3.)

\$10 per 100 "War—What For?" \$10 per 100

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Printers and binders demand immediate settlement.

"WAR—WHAT FOR?" is in danger.

Will YOU help in a crisis?

A FRANK WORD TO MY COMRADES—

This is no "hard luck" story to excite your sympathy or "pull off" an advertising trick. In my humble efforts to help somewhat as a publisher in our movement I have at no time told you an untruth in an announcement or advertisement or elsewhere. I have endeavored to be worthy of your respect and cooperation. I have bundles of letters containing graciously kind and beautifully comradelike words of appreciation of what I have endeavored to help do in the war against war and militarism. Your cooperation has been a steady stimulus to do all I possibly could for this I have done. And I can look any of you in the face unashamed of (though unsatisfied with) what I have done, and also quite unashamed of these frank words to you.

Let me tell you how the matter stands NOW—RIGHT NOW—with my poor part in the anti-militarist fight:

Over 120,000 of WAR—WHAT FOR? are now in circulation. The books are selling fairly well at present, but THEY ARE NOT SELLING NEARLY FAST ENOUGH TO ENABLE ME TO SATISFY MY PRINTERS AND BINDERS. The bills for the Eleventh Edition, 50,000 copies, were VERY HEAVY. THE BALANCE YET DUE IS VERY LARGE. A SETTLEMENT IS DEMANDED IMMEDIATELY. I MUST TURN THESE REMAINING BOOKS INTO CASH AT ONCE TO AVOID A SUIT IN WHICH I WOULD CERTAINLY LOSE. I must sell the books at a sacrifice to keep out of a "Judgment" suit that might mean the quick "killing" of the book. \$10 per hundred for the remainder of the present edition will leave a deficit of at least One Thousand Dollars on these books. I am willing to swear that this is strictly true and I am willing to show the bills to prove that this is strictly true. I TRUST THIS IS SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE THAT I NEED YOUR CO-OPERATION NOW, RIGHT NOW.

Under no circumstances would I go into print with such facts as these if I were not forced to do so.

To get out of a tight place, a threatening situation indeed, to hold fast to the book and go on in the fight, I tell you frankly that I NEED YOUR CO-OPERATION and I need it NOW. Not only that—I am offering the book to you at a price MUCH BELOW COST, BECAUSE I AM FORCED TO HAVE MONEY IMMEDIATELY.

Some Locals could easily take 1,000 or more, many Locals could take from 100 to 500, and sell them at even AS LOW AS 15 CENTS and make a profit on them—quickly too. If the books were retailed at cost by the Local, then for the SMALL COST OF THE FREIGHT THE EQUIVALENT OF A BIG PROPAGANDA MEETING could be had with from 100 to 500 books SOLD AS FAST AS THEY WERE OFFERED. Hundreds of propaganda meetings MORE than the amount of this freight. And the books would continue to work FOR YEARS—200 OF THEM PROBABLY REACHING 1,000 PEOPLE WITHIN 3 MONTHS.

WAR—WHAT FOR?—on war, militarism and Socialism—contains 384 pages, good book-stock paper, 36 full-page powerful pictures, and is bound in unusually strong, heavy leathery paper—an honest, attractive, effective book. HUNDREDS of times I have been assured by comrades that the books now in circulation have already been a great help.

If you believe me truthful and are WILLING TO HELP IN A CRISIS, I wish you would help and HELP NOW!

\$10 per 100—"WAR WHAT FOR?"—While the Supply Lasts!

Address: **GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK, Box 473, Madison Square Station, New York City**

MAKE IT \$2,000 BY SEPT. 11

THE "Organize for 1916 Fund" this week reaches the encouraging total of \$1,379.78. But a big plunge forward must be made during the next week or 10 days.

Every Socialist local in the land should be vitally interested in increasing this fund to \$2,000 before the next meeting of the National Executive Committee.

You can do it! The next executive committee meeting will start Saturday, Sept. 11. At this time the funds must be in sight to push a vigorous "ORGANIZE FOR 1916" campaign.

THERE IS YET time for hundreds, if not thousands, of locals to respond to this call. If only 350 locals would send in the \$2 asked, the \$2,000 mark would be reached and passed.

The "ORGANIZE FOR 1916" campaign has already been started in at least three sections of the country. But the next meeting of the national executive committee will mark the time for the big national move forward.

In the New England states F. H. Maxfield is busy reorganizing and putting life into the old locals, starting new locals and building up the movement generally. His work has been confined to Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont.

Watch these states come to the front. The Socialists have a representative in the state legislature. The Socialist sentiment is growing in this state as well as in the neighboring states of Montana and Washington.

The Pacific northwest will surely be heard from in the 1916 march to victory.

IN THE SOUTH the Socialists continue fighting an uphill but winning battle. Plans are now on foot to give them every aid in the "ORGANIZE FOR 1916" campaign. The Mississippi organization will be given all support possible in the pending state election when the Socialists will give them a determined effort to cast three per cent of the total vote.

This work must be broadened and strengthened. See that your local is organized in the great struggle by contributing its share in the "ORGANIZE FOR 1916" fund.

Executive Department

WALTER LANFERSIEK, Secretary
National Executive Committee
JAMES H. MAURER, 1355 N. 11th St., Reading, Pa.

ADOLPH GERMER, Mount Olive, Ill.
GEORGE H. GOBEL, 14 Bridge St., Newark, N. J.

EMIL SEIDEL, 1554-20th St., Milwaukee, Wis.
ARTHUR LESUEUR, Fort Scott, Kans.

Address all communications to the Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago. Address all mail to department of the Executive Committee, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

Remittances payable to the Socialist Party.

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LABOR DAY SENTIMENT

By EUGENE V. DEBS

TODAY we socialist comrades celebrate the Revolution;

The Revolution sweeping from pole to pole and all around the earth; the Revolution that is to strike the fetters from the toiling millions, put an end to war and bloodshed and humanize the race; the Revolution whose mission it is to free women and make them the comrades and equals of men, empty the factories and sweatshops of little children and put the red roses of life and joy in their cheeks, and make this a world of loving comrades.

Today I hear the heart-throbs of fifty millions of my comrades and with this mighty swelling anthem the innumerable proletarian host, lifting their bowed and weary forms from the dust of the ages and turning their eager faces toward the purpling East, are keeping step with the Grand March of the world-wide Socialist Revolution.

We stand erect this day and greet one another with loving salutation; we consecrate ourselves anew to the Great Cause; we pledge our lives and honor to one another, and in loyal fellowship comrades clasp the hands of comrades all around the world.

This day we remember Pat Quinlan and John Lawson; we remember Rangel and Cline, Suhr and Ford, and all our heroes who behind prison bars are paying the penalty of their loyal devotion to the working class. We hail them as our bravest comrades and we shall turn their cruel prison sentences into instruments of emancipation.

Today we stand more staunchly than ever before for the industrial union and the Socialist party; for economic and political solidarity and for education and organization of the toiling masses along the uncompromising lines of the Revolution.

Today we close up the ranks and feel the touch and thrill of unity and power; we dismiss doubt and banish fear. Our feet are on the rock, our hearts are in the cause, and our heads among the stars.

The dawn of Freedom is in the Eastern skies and the future is for Socialism and Humanity, for Brotherhood and Peace, for Life and Love for all the Race!

MACHINISTS' DELEGATE URGES EIGHT-HOUR LAW BY BALLOT

(Continued from Page Two.)

Washington, that the machinists' organization spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to force them to give the eight-hour day, said: "President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, denounces a compulsory eight-hour law, Initiative Measure No. 13. He says that if there were a movement to establish an eight-hour day and a minimum wage he would oppose such policies. Mr. Gompers ought to know, and he does know, and every intelligent laboring man knows, a compulsory eight-hour day will increase living expenses and hurt the laborer more than any other thing else. Mr. Laborer, do you want eight hours instead of ten, and maybe lose your job altogether? Do you want to quit having overtime? Your employer cannot give you overtime under this law. (And that is the reason why employers want the attention of the State of Washington and no one should be allowed to work one minute overtime.) Can you pay higher prices for all you eat and wear and still support your family on eight hours a day and no overtime."

DO NOT UNDERSTAND.

To a great degree the mass of union men do not understand this, as, unfortunately, only a few thousand ever read the proceedings of the convention and only a mere handful know what happens at the conventions. The capitalist press gives only the most meager reports of the proceedings of the convention, and in the official papers of the A. F. of L. summaries of what has happened. In this manner the masses are kept in far more complete ignorance of what happens at the A. F. of L. conventions than they are of what happens in the Congress of the United States.

Realizing these facts, it seemed well to publish in cheap pamphlet form some extracts from the more important addresses delivered in Philadelphia on the eight-hour day. No doubt they will astonish the rank and file of trade unionists and it is sincerely hoped that this little pamphlet will bring to the attention of the great mass of men who are working in the mills, mines and factories ten and eleven hours a day. After all, it is they and not their officials who should decide whether or not they should have an eight-hour day. They must also decide whether they prefer to achieve it by the strike or by the ballot. It is up to them to decide whether it is better to have a universal eight-hour law or only eight hours for those union men who are strong enough to attain it through the power of their unions. The facts herein given may also assist the mass of trade unionists to determine for themselves whether or not some of the present officials of the A. F. of L. are any longer worthy of the high positions they hold in the labor movement of America.

The debate on the eight-hour law was started by Delegate Taylor, of the Machinists' Union. Among other things, he said:

"I believe where it is possible to reduce the hours of labor by our organization it is a very good thing to do. The machinists' organization, which I represent, has spent \$800,000 in the Northwest since 1910 trying to reduce the hours of labor for the metal trades, and it has not been successful. When this law was placed upon the ballot, before it was placed upon the ballot, the machinists put an organizer in the field in Washington and paid him a salary of \$100 a week. After the law was placed upon the ballot, after getting 35,000 signatures upon the ballot, one of the main causes of defeat of that eight-hour measure in Washington was the fact that the statement was circulated that the president of the American Federation of Labor was opposed to legislation for the enactment of an eight-hour law for men. All of the manufacturers' associations, all of the leaders of the employers in the State of Washington, where they have thrown mud and dirt at all representatives of the American Federation of Labor and all representatives of any organization affiliated with this body—all leaders of this movement from the bottom up—used this statement to the detriment of the men and women in the State of Washington and other States on the Pacific coast to defeat that law."

FOUGHT BY EXPLOITERS.

"I have here a poster that was put up all over the State of Washington. I wish to read it. I want the delegates of this convention to understand that I am not personal at all; I do not want to be construed in that manner. But I have got to make this statement, because it is a statement of fact and it is necessary to do so. The poster got out by the Manufacturers' Association of the State of Washington and by the Metal Trades in the State of

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this legal enactment is such a dangerous thing?

"In the Western States the miners, the garment and several other trades have petitioned the State Legislature to enact this legislation limiting the hours, and have succeeded. What do you propose to do in this convention? You propose to send the delegates of those Western States back to their own homes and say: 'You are crazy! You don't know what you are talking about, and hereafter when it comes to the legal enactment in regard to your workday as to Government employees you must stay away from the Legislature, because your organization in convention has stated that the legal enactment is wrong!'

"I hope this will be borne in mind—and it is not a threat in any sense, but in every sense is true—that the effort to keep your men within the fold, and you international officers ought to remember this, that the effort to keep a good many of your men in the fold in the Western States, is tremendously hard. Just why that is so some of us have never been able to ascertain, except that it is this: That a man living in a country not suited with things and not surrounded by so many things as in the Eastern States likes to move in the most direct way to get what he wants. He lives in a country that has not removed very far from the direct stage of things, and he wants to move, and move as fast as he can, to the thing he wants."

